



# Thoreau Society Bulletin

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## A "New" Thoreau Letter from 1851

*Ronald Wesley Hoag*

**H**appily, the number of accounted for and accessible letters written by Henry Thoreau in 1851 has doubled. Not so happily, that means just two letters have now been recovered from that year.<sup>1</sup> While I'd like to report that I turned up the second 1851 Thoreau letter through dedicated research and the kind of spooky good luck that Huck Finn might attribute to "preforeordination" (see, for example, Bradley P. Dean's "Thoreau Letter Discovered in Library Book" in the last *Thoreau Society Bulletin*), the present case is less dramatic though arguably not less significant. In June of 1996 I simply purchased from a rare-book dealer a manuscript letter from Henry Thoreau to the Harvard University librarian, Dr. Thaddeus W. Harris.<sup>2</sup> (An excellent likeness of Harris accompanied Dean's article.) Thoreau's message is written in black ink on a time-browned sheet of cream-colored wove paper that is not mechanically lined. This thin, stationery-sized sheet (19.2 x 12.2 cm) has a jagged left margin perhaps related to its being tipped into a copy of Odell Shepard's *The Heart of Thoreau's Journals* (1927). The book is signed by its original owner—"Homer G. Curless, Burlington, 1928"—whose many marginal comments reflect a close and favorable reading. He, presumably, added the letter to Shepard's volume, from which it had been removed before my purchase.

The letter sheet was once folded in thirds, as was Thoreau's common practice in folding letters, and then, apparently, opened and refolded in quarters, likely by Thoreau's bearer or Thaddeus Harris himself. With line breaks preserved, this is the two-sentence text:

Concord Ap. 29<sup>th</sup> 1851

Dear Sir,

I return, herewith,  
Young's Chronicles of the  
Pilgrims—Hawkins's  
Quebec—& Silliman's  
Tour of Quebec.

Will you please send  
me by the bearer—the

2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>d</sup> vols of the Forest  
Trees of North America,  
by F. Andrew Michaux,—of  
which I have already had  
the 1<sup>st</sup> vol—also

Bigelow's Medical Botany.

Yrs respectfully

Henry D. Thoreau.

Although the "Dear Sir" of the salutation is not identified in the letter, he is clearly Thaddeus William Harris (1795-1856), the librarian at Harvard University from 1831 till his death, including Thoreau's years as a Harvard student from 1833 to 1837. Indeed, Harris, who graduated from Harvard in 1815 and earned his M.D. degree there in 1820, taught natural history to Thoreau late in his senior year, a one-term course that was, according to Robert Sattelmeyer, "[Thoreau's] only formal course work bearing upon his later avocation as a naturalist."<sup>3</sup> Harris also contributed the section on "Insects Injurious to Vegetation" to the 1841 state report reviewed by Thoreau in his 1842 *Dial* essay the "Natural History of Massachusetts."

By April of 1851 Thoreau had known Harris for more than 15 years and had conferred with him on matters of natural history and the early European presence in North America. One such conversation, concerning books on flowers, is mentioned by Thoreau in his journal entry for 6 February 1852, where he refers to Harris as a "learned & accurate naturalist" and "the courteous guardian of a public library." And on 1 January 1853 he noted in his journal the remark, recently passed along to him, that Louis Agassiz considered Harris "the greatest entomologist in the world" and had given permission to quote his opinion. Thoreau records this tribute without demurral.

Judging from the number of surviving letters, Thaddeus Harris was in fact one of Thoreau's more frequent correspondents, although the nature of their letter writing was generally perfunctory and pertained to Harris's position as "courteous guardian" of the books Thoreau wanted to

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borrow or return.<sup>4</sup> *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau* (1958), edited by Walter Harding and Carl Bode, contains five letters from Thoreau to Harris (10 February 1851, 1 March 1854, 18 April 1854, 15 November 1854, 27 February 1855), and one letter from Harris to Thoreau (27 June 1854) in response to a sixth letter from Thoreau—"Your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup>"—that has not been recovered (329). (Another letter by Thoreau [17 August 1857 to Marston Watson] cites Harris's comments to him on glowworms "'nearly as big as your little finger'" [488].) To that list we may now add Thoreau's 27 December 1850 letter to Harris, published by Bradley P. Dean in *Thoreau Society Bulletin* (No. 246, Winter 2004), and his 29 April 1851 letter transcribed above. Interestingly, both of the recovered 1851 letters by Thoreau were directed to Harris.

These extant or cited letters raise the question of just how extensive the Thoreau-Harris correspondence was. Are these essentially the whole iceberg or just the tip? We know from Robert Sattelmeyer's *Thoreau's Reading* catalogue that Thoreau borrowed many books over many years from Harvard Library. And we know also that Thoreau occasionally used various neighbors and associates as "gophers" to transact his Harvard Library business, among them Charles Pickering Gerrish at least twice (March and April 1854), [Barzillai?] Frost at least once (February 1855), and unidentified "bearers" on at least four other occasions (December 1850; February 1851; that of the subject letter, 29 April 1851; and 27 June 1854). It's interesting to speculate on how many other library runs were conducted by Thoreau's agents, presumably armed with written messages that would make the complete Thoreau-to-Harris letters even heftier and more significant.

The present case, Thoreau's 29 April 1851 letter to Harris, is both accounted for and accountable, beyond the unresolved identity of its "bearer." Indeed, we know pretty well Thoreau's interest in and use of the three books returned and the three volumes checked out by means of that letter. Harvard Library records show, by the way, that these transactions were accomplished on 30 April, the day following the letter date, which also happened to be precisely one week after Thoreau's first delivery of his "Walking" lecture in the vestry of Concord's Unitarian Church.<sup>5</sup>

The first returned book listed by Thoreau is Alexander Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625* (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1846). Although this book is not mentioned in Sattelmeyer's catalogue, Bradley P. Dean informs me that it was checked out to Thoreau on 27 January 1851 and that extracts from it are included in volume 4 of his unpublished *Indian Book*, which Dean is now editing, and on one page of the also unpublished *Canadian Notebook*. The forthcoming Princeton Edition of Thoreau's correspondence makes this same identification of the returned book by Young, who also published a related book known to Thoreau, *Chronicles of*

*the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1623 to 1636*, which is listed in Sattelmeyer. In late September and early October of 1850, Thoreau and Ellery Channing had participated in a railroad excursion to Montreal and Quebec, an excursion that led to the *Canadian Notebook* of extracts from Thoreau's readings on Canadian history, and eventually to his 1853 publication of "A Yankee in Canada" in *Putnam's Magazine*. Thoreau's next-mentioned book *Hawkins's Picture of Quebec; with Historical Recollections* (Quebec: [A. Hawkins], 1834), by Alfred Hawkins, had been checked out of Harvard Library on 10 February 1851.<sup>6</sup> Information from Hawkins is extracted in the *Canadian Notebook* and included in the "Provincetown" chapter of *Cape Cod*. In another 1850 journey, Thoreau had made a brief June visit alone to Cape Cod, a follow-up to his October 1849 excursion there with Channing. Also checked out

on 10 February was the third book now being returned by Thoreau, Benjamin Silliman's *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819* (2d ed., New-Haven: S. Converse, 1824). Silliman is extracted in the *Canadian Notebook* and quoted in "A Yankee in Canada."

Checked out of Harvard Library on 30 April 1851 per Thoreau's request were volumes 2 and 3 of *The North American Sylva, or a Description of the Forest Trees of the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia ... to which Is Added a Description of the Most Useful of the European Forest Trees ... Tr. From the French by F. Andrew Michaux, 3 vols.* (Paris: Printed by C. D'Hautel, 1819). Bradley P. Dean reports that Thoreau had already borrowed volume 1 of this

Concord Apr. 29<sup>th</sup> 1851  
Dear Sir  
I return, herewith,  
Young's *Chronicles of the  
Pilgrims* - *Hawkins's  
Picture of Quebec* - & *Silliman's  
Tour of Quebec*.  
Will you please send  
me by the bearer - the  
2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> vols. of *The Forest  
Trees of North America*,  
by F. Andrew Michaux, of  
which I have already had  
the 1<sup>st</sup> vol. - Also  
*Brigelow's Medical Botany*.  
Yrs respectfully  
Henry D. Thoreau.



work on 14 January 1851. He may have returned it on 10 February.<sup>7</sup> Thoreau made extensive use of Michaux's work, quoting or referring to it in *Walden*; in his lecture-essays "Walking" and "Wild Apples"; in three sections of *The Maine Woods* ("Ktaadn," "The Allegash and East Branch," and "Appendix"); in journal entries including January 1851 (undated), 18 May 1851, 29 May 1851, and 2 January 1859; in volumes 2 and 4 of his *Indian Book*; and in the second volume of his *Commonplace Book*, now in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library. The other Harvard Library book secured for Thoreau by his 30 April bearer was Jacob Bigelow's *American Medical Botany, 1817-21* (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1817-20). Thoreau cited this work in journal entries dated 29 May, 3 June, 6 June, and 14 June 1851, as well as in volume 4 of his *Indian Book*. Jacob Bigelow was also the author of *Florula Bostoniensis, a Collection of Plants of Boston and Its Vicinity* (1824), which Thoreau identified in his journal on 4 December 1856 as his first botany book, acquired two decades earlier.

Exactly when Thoreau returned the Michaux and Bigelow books borrowed on 30 April 1851 is not known, but my quick page-turning of Sattelmeyer's catalogue confirms that at least one other book, also by Michaux, was checked out to him on 2 June 1851 (see item 974 on p. 236). Moreover, Thoreau's journal entry for 3 June reports a trip to Boston the previous day and mentions a botanical suggestion by Dr. Harris about Katahdin's mountain cranberries. In all probability, some or all of the three volumes borrowed by proxy on 30 April were returned on 2 June by Thoreau himself, who used the occasion to pick up at least one of the threads in his ongoing conversation with Thaddeus Harris.<sup>8</sup>

# Notes

1. The other Thoreau-penned letter from 1851, also to Thaddeus W. Harris, is dated 10 February. It appears on page 272 of *The Correspondence of Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Walter Harding and Carl Bode (New York: New York UP, 1958). Asked for his hypothesis explaining the dearth of Thoreau letters in 1851, Robert N. Hudspeth, editor of the forthcoming Princeton Edition of Thoreau's correspondence (*The Writings of Henry D. Thoreau*), responded, "One, he just wrote few letters; two, this is an example of how much our record depends on chance. Bad luck for 1851?" Hudspeth reports that the number of recovered letters received by Thoreau that year has tripled since the 1958 publication of *Correspondence*, now totaling, alas, a scant three, none of which is related to this article. In all, 126 "new" letters by or to Thoreau have surfaced since Harding and Bode, bringing the current grand total of documented letters by or to him to 632, with well over 100 others believed to exist based on references in various sources. All of these plus any subsequent discoveries will be published in the three-volume Princeton correspondence: Volume 1, 1836-1848; Volume 2, 1849-1856; Volume 3, 1857-1862 and undated letters. E-mail letter from Robert Hudspeth, 6 January 2004.

2. The letter is item 126 in *Catalogue Sixty-Two* published by M&S Rare Books, Inc., Providence, Rhode Island, in the spring of

1996. I thank proprietor Daniel Siegel for his help with this article.

3. Robert Sattelmeyer, *Thoreau's Reading: A Study in Intellectual History with Bibliographical Catalogue* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1988), pp. 9-10.

4. But not always perfunctory. Harris's 27 June 1854 letter to Thoreau concerns a Cicada specimen, sent by Thoreau, that Harris declares "new to me, as a species or as a variety." His letter ends, "I should be very glad to get more specimens and of both sexes. Will you try for them?" Harding and Bode, *Correspondence*, p. 329.

5. For the books returned or checked out on 30 April 1851, see Sattelmeyer, *Thoreau's Reading*, pp. 133 (item 152), 196 (item 660), 236 (item 973), 269 (item 1244). For Thoreau's delivery of "Walking, or the Wild," on 23 April 1851, see Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag, "Thoreau's Lectures before *Walden*: An Annotated Calendar," *Studies in the American Renaissance, 1995*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville, Va.: UP of Virginia, 1995), pp. 198-200.

6. See Harding and Bode, *Correspondence*, p. 272.

7. See Harding and Bode, *Correspondence*, p. 272.

8. For an engaging overview of the relationship between Thoreau and Harris, see J. S. Wade, "The Friendship of Two Old-Time Naturalists," *The Scientific Monthly* 23 (August 1926): 152-160. For an account of Thoreau's repeated efforts during the 1840s to secure borrowing privileges from Harvard Library, an effort that at least indirectly involved Harris, see Walter Harding, *The Days of Henry Thoreau* (New York: Dover, 1982), pp. 266-268.

## Obscure Film Recalls Thoreau Craze of Thirty Years Ago

W. Barksdale Maynard

Who wouldn't like to meet Henry Thoreau, sit down with him in conversation? In 1975, this dream came true for four famous Americans in *Talking with Thoreau*, written and directed by Richard Slotkin for Encyclopedia Britannica films. Hard to find today, this 29-minute educational movie stands as a fascinating relic of the twentieth-century Thoreauvian heyday. *Talking with Thoreau* was shot partly on location at Walden Pond and at Roland Wells Robbins's Thoreau house replica in his backyard in the nearby town of Lincoln. Most of the film consists, however, of indoor conversations between Thoreau, played by actor Barry Primus, and four illustrious visitors to his cabin, actually a set. These visitors are not actors, but the real conservationist David Brower, psychologist B. F. Skinner, civil-rights activist Rosa Parks, and former United States Attorney General Eliot Richardson, in a time-travel scenario that is simultaneously intriguing and ludicrous.

The movie is nothing if not earnest, with close-up shots of a meditative Thoreau alternating with sequences in which he walks dreamily along the pondshore to the moody music

of a flute. Those involved in the project had not always been so highbrow; Richard Slotkin had help in directing the film from Paul Asselin, associate producer of *The Honeymoon Killers* (1970), a “dark humorous thriller about a fat nurse and a Spanish gigolo who murder rich but lonely women.” Later Asselin directed *The Making of Star Wars* (1977). Their choice for Thoreau, Barry Primus, has appeared in countless movies and television shows, including such un-Thoreauvian offerings as *Cannibal Women in the Avocado Jungle of Death* (1989) and *The Women of Spring Break* (1995). His blow-dried coif aside, Primus made a plausible Thoreau, though at 37 he was ten years older than his subject was when living at Walden, and one gets no sense of the experiment as a product, specifically, of youthful enthusiasm. When he strolls Walden’s paths, they are unmistakably the eroded ones of the 1970s, with railroad ties stacked as cribwork. But as we shall see, these anachronisms are nothing beside the extreme implausibilities presented by the device of time-travel.

**Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away....**

**“Where I Lived, and What I Lived For”**

The first visitor to the house is David Brower, who like later guests sits in a chair beside the window, a desk at his side, against which the rapt Henry leans. Sad-faced Brower somewhat recalls a small-town minister in his earnest preachiness, which doe-eyed Thoreau absorbs with a smile. He asks Brower, “I wonder, could I come back to Walden here again in your century and have the same experiences that I have now?” Brower gloomily replies, “I’m afraid you couldn’t.... You would have overflights of jets [and] all the extraneous noises that our sudden discovery of vast amounts of energy have enabled us to set loose in the world.”

By way of illustrating how technology has corrupted mankind, Brower tells how he once took a commercial flight over the North Pole and saw the aurora borealis shimmering majestically outside the window. Wanting others to enjoy the spectacle, “I asked the stewardess, well, shouldn’t the captain tell the people about this, on the public address system? And she said, ‘Oh no, the passengers wouldn’t want the movie interrupted.’” At this one cannot help but wonder how much Thoreau—listening intently—would have known of jets and in-flight movies. Ironies abound: we are being scolded for liking to watch films even as we sit watching a film;

Thoreau, here showcased as a proponent of authenticity and anti-technology, is in fact an actor bathed in Klieg lights; and Brower—being paid for his time?—perches in front of a movie-set window with a fake landscape “outside” to espouse lofty back-to-nature doctrines.

The next guest is received coldly. “I’m B. F. Skinner, Harvard University; I think you were there briefly. I want to explain to you why I took the liberty of calling a book *Walden Two* after your *Walden One*. I did it because I not only very much admire your book, but I think the two books are really on the same theme. I really believe we are both interested in the possibility of redesigning a way of life. If you don’t like the life that the society hands you, go off and try something of your own.” This flattery does nothing to soften Thoreau toward the dome-headed Skinner, whom he eyes warily. Eventually Henry says, “Professor Skinner, you alluded to me in one of your books ... as an outrageous romantic, a pernicious character.” (Thoreau’s grasp of literature has never seemed more impressive than in this learned allusion to *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, written 109 years after he was buried.) Skinner replies sheepishly and with a hint of a smile, “Well, I didn’t—when I wrote that—I didn’t know I was going to meet you when I wrote that, or I should have softened it up a bit, I think.”

Apparently glad to be rid of Skinner, Thoreau clutches a red apple and listens benignantly to Rosa Parks describing the Montgomery Bus Boycott. He remarks, “It’s one of the things we have in common—that we’re both jailbirds.” Parks, prim and polite, seems to adore Thoreau: “If Dr. King hadn’t been the leader that he was, reading your writings, our movement would not have been the success that it was, so we owe you a great debt of gratitude, and by our protests we hope to continue the work that you began.”

Finally the chair beside the wooden table is filled impressively by Eliot Richardson in a business suit. A puffy scarf (green, of course) flung around his neck, Thoreau in this scene disconcertingly resembles a Students for a Democratic Society activist staring down a 1960s college dean. Again unfazed by the bewildering time-travel implications, he asks if Richardson would have arrested him for his refusal to pay taxes. “Certainly,” Richardson replies, “And I think that you *should* have been subject to the enforcement of law.” At this, Thoreau furrows his brow and gnaws a finger. A subsequent exchange meanders, at last, into the decidedly surreal:

Thoreau: “When you were asked to fire Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox in the Watergate case or resign your own office as Attorney General under Richard Nixon, did you find that decision difficult?”  
Richardson: “Well, it probably wasn’t really any harder for me than it may have been for you to decide not to pay your taxes.”

Absurdities aside, *Talking with Thoreau* is a valuable document of the 1970s Thoreau cult, now slipping into distant memory. Of the four visitors, Skinner and Brower



are no longer living. Roland Robbins's Thoreau house, so prominently featured, is now gone—it was to be removed to the Institute at Walden Woods about 2000 but proved too rotten to reassemble. At 64, Barry Primus continues to appear in television shows and movies. Among his credits, ironically, is that he was casting director for the film that many confuse with Thoreau's *Walden*, the 1981 hit *On Golden Pond*. One wonders if Primus recalls his role as Henry in an obscure film of almost 30 years ago, in an earnest era of back-to-nature and zealous Thoreauvianism that is gradually being borne away from us by the stream of time.

## Raising Thoreau's House Beams

Bernard A. Drew

A small Thoreau house replica has risen in the woods behind Berkshire Hall on the campus of Berkshire School in Sheffield, Massachusetts. Hilary Russell, English Department Chair (atop ladder at right in the photo), has taught an elective course on Thoreau's *Walden* for the last three years, "and each year I've taken the students to the pond [in Concord] where they step inside the replica house," he said. "They always impress me with how much they learn by being in that space."



If it works there, why wouldn't it work in Sheffield? Russell acquired a set of the Robbins plans from the Thoreau Society Shop at Walden Pond. The preparatory school teacher has experience in boat building, but not in larger construction. So he and Math Department Chair Allan Bredenfoerder attended Heartwood School in Becket, Massachusetts, to learn the rudiments of timber-frame building. Then Berkshire students who preferred afternoon activity to sports went to wood shop. The teachers measured and marked all the pieces, but the young people cut and drilled them.

On a small terrace above an old woods road, shaded by towering birch and oak, and not far from a burbling mountain

stream, students and staff gathered for a work bee on a brisk November 2003 afternoon. Russell had recruited one more member of the faculty, Science Department Chair Michael Dalton, who has carpentry and roofing experience, and the frame went up.

Dalton cut a few pine trees on the school property and had them sawn at a local mill to exact six-by-six-inch measurements. Other logs were sawn into boards for flooring. Russell said the structure, tarped over for winter, will be finished this autumn. The English teacher said he will keep track of expenses, though economy has not been a major consideration.

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## Thoreau First Day Covers

James Dawson

A First Day Cover (FDC) can be created whenever the United States Postal Service issues a new stamp. There are FDCs (also called cachets) for almost every aspect of history you can imagine, and many of them feature famous Americans, including Henry Thoreau.

The FDC is an envelope or card bearing the new stamp postmarked with the day and place of its first issue, which for Thoreau was Concord, Massachusetts, 12 July 1967. This first-class 5¢ stamp was designed by Leonard Baskin to celebrate Thoreau's 150<sup>th</sup> birthday. FDC envelopes usually measure 6½" x 3⅝" and have art work or textual material that complement the stamp. Commercially made FDCs are usually postmarked in bulk elsewhere, but collectors can send their own design to the original post office for cancellation. (The Postal Service has a thirty-day window

for this service.) Bob Patkin, a dealer in FDCs, told me that there are thirty-six commercially made Thoreau cachets and an unknown number of private ones. Most of them have art work from the three known Thoreau portraits, or other appropriate scenes or quotes.

I have thirty-five FDCs in my Thoreau collection. Of these, twenty-three feature portraits of Thoreau: four based on the Rowse crayon portrait, eight on the Maxham daguerreotype, two on the



remaining twelve feature Concord scenes or Thoreau quotes with designs of various sorts.

I also have the original artwork for the FDC designed by Day Lowery, a pen-and-ink drawing with blue-gray wash and white-out on a 15" x 20" piece of illustration board (bottom one, this column). The text across the top reads "150TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY / HENRY DAVID THOREAU / 1817-1862 / POET-MYSTIC-NATURALIST-HUMANITARIAN..." with a drawing of "the hut at Walden Pond" in a circle ringed with leaves and a drawing of "Thoreau's Home In Concord" at the bottom with some biographical text. Lowery happens to have been the sole artist for Aristocrat cachets from 1945 to 1974.

The artwork of the Thoreau FDCs runs the gamut from excellent to amateurish. Probably the best FDC is also the most common, a high-quality design featuring the Maxham



daguerreotype of Thoreau with a drawing of the Walden house (first one, this column). Founding Secretary of the Thoreau Society, Walter Harding, distributed this FDC to members of the Thoreau Society. Harding also mentioned in *Thoreau Society Bulletin* number 99 that members could obtain another FDC design from the Thoreau Lyceum, that one also of a high quality and featuring the title-page illustration from the first edition of *Walden* (second one, this column).

*Thoreau Society Bulletin* number 100 contains an illustration of an FDC made by Henry Bugbee Kane that

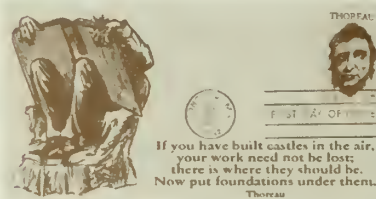


Baskin stamp (which is based on Maxham), seven on the Dunshee ambrotype, one silhouette, and one that purports to be Thoreau but could just as well be any man with a beard. The



Maxham daguerreotype of Thoreau with a drawing of the Walden house (first one, this column). Founding Secretary of the Thoreau Society, Walter Harding, distributed this FDC to

demonstrated his dislike of the Baskin stamp. The Baskin design for the Thoreau stamp was a controversial one.



Society member suggested, famously, that this was the only stamp designed to be spit upon on both sides.) In any event, Kane's FDC features a self-portrait of Kane glancing up in disapproval at the stamp pasted in the corner with the caption, "For my part, I could easily do without Baskin."

Some FDC artists were apparently hard pressed to come up with unique designs, while others seem to have had little difficulty marching to the off-beat of a different drummer. One odd FDC bears on its surface a thin aluminium plate with the embossed image of the Rowse portrait. Another shows a crude drawing of Thoreau and, for some reason, the Minot House on Virginia Road. Yet another has the Baskin stamp mounted next to its replica—made of 22-karat gold



foil. My personal favorite worst Thoreau FDC shows Thoreau sitting in front of a log cabin smoking a pipe and feeding rabbits (to left here)! But another comes in a close second: a portrait of Thoreau sporting a

forked beard next to a drawing of a three-story building on a lake (last one, this column). Clearly, not a great deal of research went into some of these productions. Most Thoreau FDCs are priced in the \$1 to \$10 range, while a few might be worth as much as \$25. All of the Thoreau FDCs were issued for Thoreau's 150<sup>th</sup> birthday except for one postmarked Boston, 9 August 1978. Amusingly,



this FDC celebrated the 124<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of *Walden*. Because the United States Postal Service had not seen fit to issue a stamp commemorating *Walden*, this FDC was forced to use the old Baskin stamp—plus a regular 2¢ stamp to cover the increase in first-class postage since 1967.

Walter Harding liked it, thinking that it presented Thoreau's strength of character and personality; but many others, including Kane, disapproved of the skewed expression. (One



My personal favorite worst Thoreau FDC shows Thoreau sitting in front of a log cabin smoking a pipe and feeding rabbits (to left here)! But another comes in a close second: a portrait of Thoreau sporting a



## The Thoreau Society's John Brown Weekend

*Sandy Petrulionis and Jayne Gordon*

Over the course of a chilly weekend in the middle of March 2004, sixteen members of the Thoreau Society from eight states (Ohio, Indiana, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts) gathered with residents of Loudoun County, Virginia, for a weekend of "living history." Under the leadership of Loudoun Valley High School History teacher Rich Gillespie, and the incredibly informed and talented aid of fifteen History Club students, we immersed ourselves in the background and drama of John Brown, his men, and their raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, an event that began late the night of 16 October 1859 and ended two days later—a total failure by most accounts, a startling and enduring success by others.

The first evening, after supper at a private home near Purcellville, some fifty miles west of Washington, D.C., we shared our varied reasons for trekking to Virginia for this program. Not surprisingly, our comments spanned the gamut—from those who sought to further their understanding of Thoreau's connection with the zealot Brown, to those who wondered what lessons this episode has to offer us today (see text box on this page for some examples). Most of us came with more questions than answers, but all of us arrived with a keen interest in learning about a celebrated figure who has troubled people for more than a century. Many of us, in fact, asked the same questions raised by nineteenth-century Americans themselves in the days after the raid had failed. Why had John Brown, a militant abolitionist fresh from the civil strife raging in Kansas, with the aid of twenty-one men armed with rifles, tramped into the town of Harpers Ferry, Virginia, bent on taking over the arsenal, securing the town, and inciting slaves to rebel and join his army—all in an effort to end slavery in the United States? Why did he believe he could succeed? And why, when he failed, did Henry Thoreau rally to his cause and salute the violence of both his means and their end? These were some of the questions we brought with us; and although these queries went home with us as well, we at least also carried in mind a sense of the multiple directions the answers could take.

Most historians through the years have come to regard Brown's raid as one of the two or three instrumental events that catapulted the United States to Civil War a year and a half later. Branded a madman and a fanatic by southerners and northerners alike, even by the abolitionists who supported his determination to end slavery, Brown was nonetheless honored by former slaves such as Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. But one of the first and most stridently positive tributes to Brown came just two weeks after the raid, in the form of a public address by Henry D. Thoreau, who spoke his mind to audiences in Concord, Boston, and Worcester—the first public antislavery remarks he'd made in five years. From the first evening he gave this speech, soon published as "A Plea for Captain John Brown," his neighbors were puzzled at Thoreau's strong endorsement of this fanatical man, his violent methods, and his revolutionary goals. Through the years, historians and Thoreauvians alike have continued to debate the subject, endeavoring to come to terms with the principled Transcendentalist's ringing endorsement of the legendary "Old Man" of Harpers Ferry.

- "John Brown is a dichotomy: He's a noble figure to some, and others revile him."
- "How could the man who wrote 'Civil Disobedience' write 'A Plea for Captain John Brown'?"
- "How can John Brown's motives be supported?"
- "John Brown is one who struck for freedom. Why did he do what he did?"
- "Is Brown a hero or this awful person?"
- "Today's problem of religious extremism and terrorism seems connected with John Brown: How does good come out of evil? This is controversial territory. Does it matter what your objective is?"
- "I'm an exchange student here in Virginia from England, and John Brown has always been just a footnote in our history books. I want to know the full story."
- "I've been puzzled by and interested in John Brown for years. He's saying something to us today, but I still don't know what it is."

Friday evening's excursions immersed us in the antebellum world of a slave in Virginia, with dramatic interpretations of the dark side of plantation life by candlelight on the grounds of Oatlands Plantation and a late-night moonlit trek on the escape route taken by fugitive slaves through Waterford, Virginia. When a slave catcher appeared on horseback just as we arrived at the doorstep of a Quaker "safe house," we felt something of the fear and anguish slaves must have experienced in similar situations. In a sense, we became the runaways who were returned to slavery. It was in this context that we then investigated John Brown and his raid.

Saturday brought us to Harpers Ferry, which we explored on foot and through historical vignettes presented by the students to introduce the characters, conversations, viewpoints, and literal perspectives in this town that housed the arsenal at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. We became—for a moment in time—the raiders, sitting in the same attic room where they hid out in the privately-owned Kennedy farmhouse in Maryland, meeting secretly to go over our parts in the "Old Man's" plans. And then, once again, under the cover of darkness, we were off on a mission. By the time we crept silently in the twenty-degree darkness alongside the C & O canal bordering the Potomac River as it runs into Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, we had spent twenty-four hours together, twenty-one men and women becoming familiar not only with each other, but even more with our alter egos for the weekend—Owen, Oliver, and Watson Brown; Charles Tidd; Edwin and Barclay Coppoc; Dauphin and William Thompson; John Cook; Lewis Leary; William Leeman; Stewart Taylor; Jeremiah Anderson; John Copeland; Albert Hazlett; Osborn Anderson; Francis Jackson Meriam; Aaron Stevens; Dangerfield Newby; John Kagi—and their leader, 59-year-old Captain John Brown.

Saturday at midnight we were sitting in the darkness of the Engine House at Harpers Ferry, together, yet alone in our thoughts about the meaning of what we had experienced. Sunday, around a table in the old train station in Purcellville, we had a chance to



share those thoughts with each other. Had we changed our minds and attitudes? Did we emerge with more questions than answers? Henry Thoreau weighed in, too, rest assured, through our discussion of "A Plea for Captain John Brown."

And finally, late Sunday afternoon, sitting in the church built by freed slaves in Waterford, Virginia, listening to the lovely young president of the History Club talk about the importance of having passion for what you believe in and for what you do in life, past and present came together for each of us in a strange, but fitting synthesis of this unusual and stirring weekend.



A postscript by Bob Clarke of Woodbury, Connecticut:

Here we are on a late winter night—this band of some twenty-plus middle-aged-and-over individuals, marching in pairs along the Chesapeake and Ohio canal tow path towards Harpers Ferry. We were not so much re-enacting John Brown's quixotic quest to induce the slaves of the area to revolt as much as we were experiencing it and getting a feeling of the life of the slaves, and that of Brown and his band of brothers—those who had followed him from the border wars of the Kansas-Missouri area and those who were late to the call but sincerely believed enough in the abolitionist cause to offer their lives and their services in its behalf.

Members of the Society are here in response to Thoreau's "Plea for Captain John Brown." Thoreau ardently believed in Brown's commitment to the cause, as we might say in the current vernacular—he's not just talking the talk but walking the walk. Here I am one of Thoreau's band of disciples, and a seventy-year-old Connecticut Yankee and former English teacher, living not twenty miles from Brown's birthplace, taking on the role of twenty-year-old Willie Leeman, the youngest of the raiders, born in southern Maine, gone to Kansas in search of a better life, and returning east after fighting under Brown's tutelage—only to be killed in a vain attempt to escape from Harpers Ferry and to suffer the further ignominy of becoming a target of drunken Virginians as his body lay on the shore of one of the river

islands. Before this night is over I have come to understand what compelled not only Willie but the others essentially to throw away their lives, not realizing that in about eighteen months their failure this night would become legendary in the person of their leader, whose name would march into the history of our Civil War.

And leading us on this expedition into the past is another little band of brothers and sisters—the officers of the two-hundred-plus Loudoun Valley High School History Club—directed by its Pied Piper faculty advisor, and brother of our Society's Executive Director, Rich Gillespie. All in all it's been a fantastic journey and a fantastic learning experience, not only in terms of this trip into the past, but also in terms of what an effect an exceptional school program can have beyond its time and place.

## John Caffrey: A Brief Profile

*Bradley P. Dean*

During the month of August 2004, the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, will host a display featuring a two-page overview of Thoreau, books and other materials by and about Thoreau, some information about early English publishers and editors of Thoreau's writings, and five stunningly beautiful gouache paintings of birds mentioned in Thoreau's journal with appropriate passages from the journal. (Gouache is a "method of painting with opaque watercolors mixed with a preparation of gum." The five paintings on display, while predominately gouache, also contain passages of pure watercolor.) The artist, John Caffrey, who will put the display together and arranged for it to appear in the Literary and Philosophical Society, selected these five birds as his subjects because he had seen them during visits to wild areas during his trips to the United States. We are grateful to Caffrey for allowing us to publish here images of two of those five paintings: a wood thrush (top) and a downy woodpecker.



Thoreau writes in "Walking" that with regard to nature, he felt that he lived "a sort of border life, on the confines of a world into which I make occasional and transient forays only, and my



patriotism and  
allegiance to the  
state into whose  
territories I seem to  
retreat are those of  
a moss-trooper.”  
The border area  
where moss-  
troopers marauded  
in the seventeenth  
century happens to  
be the very area  
where Caffrey  
resides. He lives in  
Morpeth, a historic  
Northumbrian  
country town  
fifteen miles north

of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and just south of England’s border with  
Scotland. Caffrey first read Thoreau’s *A Week on the Concord and  
Merrimack Rivers* in the 1960s and soon afterwards acquired a  
copy of the Everyman Edition of *Walden*, which for many years he  
carried with him daily to his work as a telephone engineer so that

he could read from the book  
during his lunch breaks “in  
some of the most beautiful and  
historic Northumbrian  
landscapes.”

Caffrey first visited  
Concord in 1994. Although he  
spent only part of a day there  
at that time, he visited Walden  
Pond and Thoreau’s gravesite  
and the Thoreau Lyceum—and

recalls the day as one “sprinkled with stardust.” He joined the  
Thoreau Society in February 1996 and since then has attended  
three Annual Gatherings.



## Notes & Queries

☞ We are grateful to the authors who contributed articles for  
this number of the Bulletin. **Sandy Petrulionis** is the editor of  
Thoreau’s *Journal*; *Volume 8, 1854*; teaches English at Penn State  
Altoona; and serves on the Board of Directors of the Thoreau  
Society. **W. Barksdale Maynard** is the author of *Walden Pond: A  
History and Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850*, and  
teaches architectural history at Johns Hopkins University and the  
University of Delaware. **Ronald Wesley Hoag** teaches English at  
East Carolina University and serves on the Board of Directors of  
the Thoreau Society. **Jayne Gordon** is Executive Director of the  
Thoreau Society and lives in Concord, Massachusetts. **Bernard  
A. Drew** lives in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and is a  
freelance writer and editor who alternates writing scholarly  
reference books and local histories of Berkshire County. **Bradley  
P. Dean** edits this Bulletin. **James Dawson** owns and operates  
Unicorn Books in Trappe, Maryland.

☞ Poet Mary Oliver in *Blue Pastures* (Harcourt, 1995) says,  
“From my way of thinking, Thoreau frequently seems an overly

social person.”

☞ In *Walden*’s second chapter, Thoreau wrote, “To affect the  
quality of the day, that is the highest of arts.” Your editor recently  
finished a mediocre dinner at a Chinese restaurant by reading this  
from the slip in the obligatory fortune cookie: “To effect [*sic*] the  
quality of the day is no small achievement.”

☞ Austin Meredith learned that in 1953, on South Island of  
New Zealand, the Homer Tunnel opened up Milford Sound to road  
access from Te Anau. This is the longest raw tunnel in the world.  
A plaque beside a short trail just beyond the tunnel, near Milford  
Sound, reportedly reads: “The best sculptors in stone are not  
copper and steel tools, but air and water, working at a leisurely  
pace, with liberal amounts of time.” The remark from *A Week* is  
apt for the locale, according to Janak Neill, with whom Meredith  
has corresponded on the matter. Neill contacted John Hall-Jones  
of Invercargill, who has written three or four books about Milford  
Sound and who reported that there is indeed such a plaque “at the  
‘Chasm’ about five kilometers back up the Milford Road from  
Milford with the quote from Thoreau.” The plaque was erected by  
the Department of Conservation and records Thoreau’s name as  
“David Henry Thoreau.”

☞ Edward Dolnick’s *Down the Great Unknown: John Wesley  
Powell’s 1869 Journey of Discovery and Tragedy through the  
Grand Canyon* (HarperCollins, 2001) quotes Thoreau in a section  
about the Grand Canyon’s geo-history, rock carved by river:  
“‘The finest workers in stone are not copper or steel tools,’ wrote  
Thoreau, ‘but the gentle touches of air and water working at their  
leisure with a liberal allowance of time.’”

☞ Ed Schofield pointed out to us an article in *The Christian  
Science Monitor* of 2 January 2004 that described Democratic  
presidential candidate Dennis Kucinich as follows (we remove  
paragraph breaks): “Like his nonconformist audience this evening,  
Mr. Kucinich is a candidate with quirks. A strict vegan, he would  
hardly be the type to throw a Crawford, Texas, barbecue. A skilled  
ventriloquist, he keeps a dummy in his office to entertain school  
kids who visit him on field trips.... And though he comes from the  
Rust Belt shores of Lake Erie, he often speaks more as a New  
England transcendentalist, straight from Walden Pond. ‘We need  
to be certain that we have agricultural policies that are rooted in a  
philosophy which connects us to the power of nature itself,’  
Kucinich tells the bundled-up country folk gathered in the shed....  
In the same 19th-century vein, Kucinich often urges his audiences  
to read Emerson’s ‘Self-Reliance,’ an essay he says he’s read at  
least once a year since he was a boy. ‘Trust thyself: every heart  
vibrates to that iron string,’ he often quotes. ‘To believe that what  
is true for you in your private heart is true for all men,—that is  
genius.’ Nonconformists, however, are by definition few and far  
between, and Kucinich is near the bottom of the polls. Beyond  
this band of pastoral farmers, few have even heard of Dennis  
Kucinich—‘Is he the one with the ears?’”

☞ A contestant on the television quiz show *Jeopardy!*, during  
the broadcast of 8 January 2004, was asked to answer the question:  
“While living at Walden Pond, Thoreau was jailed by Sam Staples  
for not paying his taxes in this town.”

☞ In Sidney Lens’s *The Forging of American Empire* (Cover  
subtitle: “From the Revolution to Vietnam: A History of U.S.  
Imperialism”), first published in 1971 by Thomas Y. Crowell, but  
recently co-published by Pluto Press and Haymarket Books of  
Chicago, with a new foreword by Howard Zinn, we read, “[T]here  
has always been, in the annals of America, some sentiment

opposed not only to militarism but to war per se. If many were hostile to standing armies nonetheless endorsed specific wars, there were others who took issue with both. They ranged all the way from philosophical pacifists like Noah Worcester, Henry David Thoreau, and A. J. Muste, to nonpacifists who were critical of the particular war at hand....” When discussing the events of 1812, Lens also claims, “A small town in Massachusetts, anticipating Thoreau’s thesis on nonpayment of taxes, vowed not to remit any monies to the national treasury.” Regrettably, however, he does not document his source.

☞ Martin Murie’s column in the December 2003/January 2004 issue of *Canyon Country Gazette*, “Losing Solitude,” is an essay about the “insistent voice-over” variety of guided nature walks, but he gives a couple of examples of happier outdoor experiences. Murie writes, “Does it take something unexpected to give us a nudge into paying attention to what’s really happening, precisely where we stand or walk? I think so. It’s all very well to tell each other to hang loose, look around, let what comes come, but the human will is a mysterious inhabitant. It needs training or a nudge. Even Thoreau admits that there are times when he goes outdoors to get free of indoors but his indoors thoughts go with him. My bet is that a bird or a rainstorm or a sudden blaze of blossom, things like that, provided the nudge, got Henry back to ‘now where my body is.’ *Walking*, 1862.”

☞ Jules Lobel’s *Success Without Victory: Lost Legal Battles and the Long Road to Justice in America* (New York UP, 2003) contains an introduction that examines “the prevailing view” that law is utilitarian and looks at different traditions that critique “the mainstream view of success in law and life.” Lobel writes, “One view, perhaps best expressed in our country by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, replaces ‘success’ with expressive individualism, a kind of self-reliance that doesn’t depend on the rewards of the outside world. In this view work is a calling, an expression of oneself, and a way to cultivate moral sensibilities, not merely a utilitarian activity that leads to winning. ‘[We should] measure a person not primarily on the virtue of his actions,’ writes Thoreau, ‘but by the free character he is and is felt to be under all circumstances.’ Their focus on the inner, expressive self led Emerson and Thoreau to view success and failure not as dichotomies but as existing in dialectic tension and unity....” Oddly, Lobel’s source is cited as Martha Banta’s *Failure and Success in America: A Literary Debate* (Princeton UP, 1978).

☞ The Fall 2003 issue of *Seed* magazine includes a series of short articles under the rubric “The Third Culture” about people bridging the gap between science and the humanities. From Laura McNeil’s piece about fiction writer Anthony Doerr (“The New Naturalist”): “Noting Emerson and Thoreau as important early examples of how to apply language to the natural world, while also making his stories emotionally successful, Doerr, 30, strives to make his settings ‘as much a country of the imagination as a real place.’” (McNeil earlier quoted Doerr: “I don’t really believe there’s any use differentiating the natural world and the human one, since they’re so obviously the same.”)

☞ Canada-based *Alternative Journal* ran a one-page list of suggestions for activists in its Fall 2003 issue. Tooker Gomborg’s “Jump Into the Fire.” The list of ten items includes: (3) “Fill the jails. Thoreau went to jail in 1846 for refusing to pay taxes to fund the immoral Mexican-American War...” and (4) “Disobey immoral laws....”

☞ A profile of Buddhist conservation biologist Michael Soulé

by Lisa Jones (“The Buckshot Bodhisattva,” *Tricycle*, Winter 2003) quotes Soulé: “Most people feel they live in a world of scarcity. They feel if they are too generous, they won’t have enough for themselves; that happiness is the reward of self-indulgence. And yet people who have thought deeply about it and have experimented with simplicity—as the Buddha did, and as Thoreau did—find that it’s the opposite: Happiness comes from generosity and living simply.”

☞ The Gallery of History recently offered an “address leaf” (envelope?) penned by Thoreau to “Ticknor & Fields” (1p, 4½ x 4½) on 11 August 1854, two days after *Walden* was published. The price was US\$1,999.00. A one-page letter to James T. Fields was originally “attached to it” and reads, “I shall feel still more under obligations to you if you will send the accompanying volume to Mr. Sumner in one of your parcels. I find that I omitted to count the volume sent to Greeley & so have one more than my due. Will you please charge me with it.” Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner was a good friend of Thoreau’s who periodically sent him copies of government publications gratis. Founder and editor of the *New-York Tribune*, Horace Greeley was a friend who had occasionally acted as Thoreau’s literary agent. “Thoreau” is penned above the addressee—apparently by Thoreau himself.

☞ Jim Dawson generously sent us the following from *American Book Prices Current* vol. 109 (auction season September 2002–August 2003).

*Cape Cod*. Bost., 1865 [1864]. 1st Ed. 12mo, orig cloth;

spine ends worn. Stain in upper outer corner of a few leaves; without pbr’s estatend. sg Apr 10 (184) \$550.

*The Maine Woods*. Bost., 1864. 8vo, ong cloth. wa May 22 (419) \$350.

*Three Essays. Life Without Principle*. Stanford: James Ladd Delkin, 1946. One of 500. Preface by Henry Miller. Orig half cloth, in darkened & worn dj. pba Jan 9 (44) \$95.

*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo, orig cloth; repaired. With map & ads dated Mar 1854. b&b June 25 (3353) \$3,000.

[*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo,] Orig cloth; extremities worn, rubbed, 1 gathering partly sprung. With map & with ads dated Sept 1854. CNY Apr 8 (223) \$5,000.

[*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo,] Orig cloth; inner front hinge reinforced, text block cracked, a few gatherings sprung, some wear to extremities. With map & with ads dated Apr 1854. CNY Apr 8 (224) \$4,200.

[*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo,] Orig cloth; small stain on upper cover, a few signatures sprung. With ads dated Sept 1854. July 29 (241) \$7,000.

[*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo,] Modern mor, orig cloth bound in; joints rubbed. With map & ads dated June 1854. Minor foxing; a few small stains. P June 20 (233) \$4,750.

[*Walden*. Bost., 1854. 1st Ed. 8vo,] Orig cloth; spine ends & tips rubbed with loss, rear joint starting, split to center of text block, foxing to rear endpapers & to front matter. With ads dated Apr 1854. sg Oct 24 (501) \$2,200.

*Works*. Bost., 1906. Manuscript Ed, one of 600, this copy with onlaid half-page section of an ALs to H. Blake. 29





June 1858. 20 vols. Orig mor gilt. P June 20 (234) \$13,000.

*A Yankee in Canada....* Bost., 1866. 1st Ed. 8vo, orig cloth, A bdg; spine ends & tips frayed, front hinge cracked. sg Oct 24 (500) \$140.

Thoreau's copy, Henry David. Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. Brooklyn, 1855. 1st Ed, 1st Issue. Folio, orig cloth; recased with new endpapers & orig front endpaper tipped in. Thoreau's sgd copy with his signature in pencil on the orig front free endpaper. Sanborn—Wakeman—R. W. Martin copy. P Dec 13 (164) \$100,000.

ALs, 6 Oct 1838. 2pp, 4to. To Reverend Andrew Bigelow. Applying for a teaching position including R. W. Emerson as a reference. With holograph integral address leaf. Very fine. In mor folding case. Illus in cat. Lackritz Collection CNY Apr 8 (226) \$11,000.

ALs, 8 Feb 1850. 1 p, 4to. To Mr. C. Northend. Accepting his invitation to give a lecture. With tape stains at corners. Illus in cat sg Apr 3 (193) \$6,000.

**The Thoreau Society is grateful to**

**Penn State Altoona**

**for its continuing generosity in hosting  
our membership office. Special thanks  
and congratulations to  
Penn State Altoona student**

**Dustin Brandt**

**who designed our web site, produced  
our membership directory, and  
graduates this spring!**

ALs, 3 Apr 1850. 4pp, 9.5 by 7.5 inches. To H. G. O. Blake. About appearance versus reality, spirituality & other philosophical matters. Second sheet with repaired tear & minor fold splits. Yellowed. Framed under plexiglass with 2 photo ports. Overall size 15.75 by 29 inches. Illus in cat P June 20 (235) \$42,500.

☞ Scott Silver's "Ed Abbey Was Wrong" (*Canyon Country Zephyr*, February/March 2004), the transcription of a short address presented at a conference of the Alliance for the Wild Rockies, argues against Edward Abbey's words from *The Journey Home*: "The idea of wilderness needs no defense. It only needs more defenders." Quoting "father of the Wilderness Act, Howard Zahniser" (who said in 1956, "We must see that an adequate system of wilderness areas is designed for preservation, and then we must allow nothing to alter the wilderness character of the preserves"), Silver adds, "Failing either, we will face the serious consequence implicit in Thoreau's aphorism, 'In Wildness is the preservation of the world.'"

☞ The second epigraph to the chapter devoted to "animals

and birds" (*sic*) in Nina A. Simonowicz's *Nina's North Shore Guide* (U Minnesota P, 1999): "awkward looking animals, with long legs and short bodies, making a ludicrous figure when in full run, but making great headway nevertheless. —Henry David Thoreau, *Ktaadn*, referring to moose."

☞ From John Pukite's *Hiking Minnesota* (Falcon Publishing, 1998): Three paragraphs on clothing (p. 8) begin "Thoreau once said, 'Beware of enterprises requiring new clothing.'"

☞ Eric Sloane's *The Spirits of '76* (Ballantine Books, 1973) quotes Thoreau in his chapter on frugality (" 'Money,' said Thoreau, 'is not necessary to buy one's necessities [*sic*] of the soul'") and in a chapter on the spirit of hard work ("Thoreau said the prime aim of a laborer should not be to make his living but to perform his work well. 'Do not hire a man who does your work for money,' he said, 'but him who does it for love of it.'")

☞ Dick Schneider noticed one morning recently while driving "one of the most bizarre versions of a Thoreau bumper sticker that I have seen in a long time. The sticker on the car in front of me said 'I march to a different accordion.' Maybe a member of a polka band? Go figure."

☞ Authors and prospective authors of books relating to Thoreau, please take note. Contact the Thoreau Society Shop at Walden Pond so that it can advance order copies of your book. Also, please consider adding a "Note to the Reader" about the Thoreau Society on one of the otherwise blank pages at the end of your book. Jayne Gordon would be pleased to provide copy for such a note. See gray textbox on p. 16 for contact information.

☞ The television show *Good Morning America* (14 November 2003) reported on Stephanie Haaser, a Baltimore high school student suspended for kissing another girl (mentioned in last Bulletin's N&Q). Her English teacher had assigned her "to do some sort of act of nonconformity," like Thoreau. Haaser stood atop a cafeteria table, shouted "End Homophobia!" and kissed her friend, Catherine. "To me it sounded like a super idea," her mother told TV show host Charlie Gibson, who referred to it as "an act of civil disobedience or nonconformity."

☞ John Daniel (b. 1948), a poet in Oregon, has published a new book, *Winter Creek: One Writer's Natural History* (Minneapolis: Milkweed, 2002). On p. 64 he cites Thoreau as an influence on his personal essays of the early 1980s. In 2000 Daniel spent four-and-a-half months living alone in a cabin on Rogue River, Oregon, writing 294 penciled manuscript pages for a forthcoming volume, tentatively titled *River of Solitude*.

☞ Thoreau turns up in a new book on the Western artist Remington, one that discusses his nocturnes. William C. Sharpe, professor of English at Barnard College, mentions Thoreau's walks by moonlight: his "exploration of the night leads in directions both aesthetic and imperial. His desire to conquer darkness in the name of poetry forms part of the larger nineteenth-century effort to colonize unknown territory." Sharpe's essay appears in Nancy K. Anderson *et al.*, *Frederic Remington: The Color of Night* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2003).

☞ Nicholas A. Bisbanes's *A Splendor of Letters: The Permanence of Books in an Impermanent World* (Harper, 2003) includes material about the author's own rare-book buying experiences. One pages 180–181 is an anecdote about poking through old art-auction catalogs at a Worcester Art Museum tag sale, where his wife found a box "marked \$5 for the contents" in which was "a bundle of old magazines tied together by twine." She "promptly plucked from what very well might have been part

of that evening's trash deposit a dozen issues of *Dial*, an important nineteenth-century literary quarterly of considerable scarcity that boasts numerous first appearance essays of Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Margaret Fuller, the founding editor." In the October 1840 issue Basbanes found an Emerson article

("Thoughts on Modern Literature") that seemed "eerily pertinent" to Basbanes's topic of research, the durability of books, "textual and otherwise."

☞ Visit <http://oasis.harvard.edu/html/hua15002frames.html> to see facsimile pages of the Harvard University Class of 1837 class book. A newspaper clipping in the class book announcing Thoreau's death mentions "His age was about 35"—apparently a misprint for "45." but in any case an error.

☞ A two-page typed and written letter dated 1893 from Franklin B. Sanborn to his son was sold on 19 February 2004 for US\$154.28. The seller described it as a chatty letter discussing Concord and "the small circle of Concord authors," the "last of the Alcott girls['] death," and mentioning "that only Mr. Channing remains and lives with Sanborn."

☞ The past quarter's e-Bay offerings relating (sometimes very tenuously) to Thoreau included the following: Kenneth Cole NEW Thoreau brown suede boot, size 9 US, sold on 13 March 2004 and was bidding at US\$15.50 the day before. NIB Kohler Self-Rimming 24" x 18" Skylight Thoreau Sink opened for bidding at US\$99 in mid-March 2004. Gordon Press's 1976 reprint of the Bibliophile Society edition of Thoreau's *Sir Walter Raleigh*, edited by Henry Aiken Metcalf, opened for bidding at US\$9.95 on 5 March 2004 but had received no bids by the end date of 12 March. An 1876 *Walden* with worn spine ends sold for US\$99. An 1875 *Maine Woods* with the spine taped and in poor condition sold for US\$43. An 1865 *Cape Cod* (first edition) with a stained cover sold for US\$187.77. An uncommon 1949 reprint of the fourteen-volume 1906 *Journal* sold for US\$266.01. A 1907 Bibliophile Society *Unpublished Letters of Bryant and Thoreau*, one of 470 copies, sold for US\$60. Samuel A. Jones's *Thoreau, A Glimpse* (Concord, Mass.: Erudite Press, 1903) sold for US\$92.57. Thoreau's *Essays and Other Writings*, edited by Dircks (London: Walter Scott Ltd., n.d. [ca. 1901]), sold for US\$24.46. Twelve different issues, with some duplicates, of the *Thoreau Newsletter*, written and edited by Raymond Adams from 1936 to 1940, sold for \$129.07. Also included were three magazines from the same period with articles by Adams on Thoreau and Southern religious liberalism. (The seller told Jim Dawson that he found these items—the whole cache totaling seven pounds of paper—in a North Carolina dumpster!) Finally, and most ridiculously, a "Miniture [*sic*] Dollhouse Cabin Custom Thoreau Style" opened for bidding at US\$19.95 on 22 April 2004. As of 23 March one person had bid on it at that price. "This is a handmade Henry Thoreau Like miniture [*sic*] house built by hand. It has a front porch and shows excellent detail on the exterior. Everything was handmade. Nothing was pre-bought.



This is Piper Brunhuber, daughter of Barb, Staff Assistant at the Society's Membership Office at Penn State Altoona, modeling the most popular infant gift at the Thoreau Society's Shop at Walden Pond.

Bricks have real texture and were hand painted one by one. Asphalt [*sic*] shingles, block foundation, balsa wood deck. Door is hinged. The interior was done to show the method by which the interior was designed [*sic*]. Overall size is 12 inches deep, 11 inches high, and 8 inches wide. This would be excellent for displaying or used as a child's playhouse for toys."

☞ From an obituary for author Paul Gruchow in the 25 February 2004 issue of the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*: "Friend and writer Bill Holm, of Minneota, Minn., praised Gruchow as 'the Thoreauvian conscience of his generation.' "

☞ "Emma Goldman," a 90-minute documentary written, produced, and directed by Mel Bucklin, and scheduled to air on PBS Monday, 12 April 2002, as part of the "American Experience" series, reports that when Goldman was first imprisoned, she "[used] her time to educate herself, reading Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman."

☞ On 9 April 2004 Villanova University professor of art history Mark Sullivan delivered a paper titled "Man of a Thousand Faces": Henry David Thoreau in Recent American Portraiture" at the American Culture Association's annual conference in San Antonio. Last year, he delivered a paper at the same group's annual meeting in New Orleans on N. C.

Wyeth and his portraits of Henry David Thoreau.

☞ Does anyone know the *original source* of the canard of which the following is one version: "When Thoreau was placed in prison for refusing to pay taxes, he was visited by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emerson said, 'David, what are you doing in jail?' and Thoreau replied, 'Ralph, what are you doing outside, when honest people are in jail for their ideals?' " Please reply to Chris Dodge ([dodge@utne.com](mailto:dodge@utne.com)).

☞ Thoreau, in his journal entry of 16 January 1852, writes a long paragraph on Bill Wheeler, a local ne'er-do-well who had recently died; and Emerson, in a journal of December 1841, wrote about "the keeping of a secret too great to be confided to one man[—]that a divine man dwelt near me in a hollow tree." Tim French ([tim@timfrenchadv.com](mailto:tim@timfrenchadv.com)) is looking into the possibility that Bill Wheeler may at one time have lived in a hollow tree and would like to hear from anyone who may have any thoughts on the matter.

☞ Akira Yamaguchi's Japanese translation of Walter Harding's *The Days of Henry Thoreau* will soon see print. Yamaguchi plans to translate *A Week*, which would be the first Japanese translation of that book.

☞ The February 2004 issue of *Ladies Home Journal* (p. 110) features an interview with television personality and reporter Diane Sawyer. In high school she was a nerd, she says, and "Three of us, we were Unitarian, Jewish, and Methodist—me—and we used to get together and read Thoreau and Emerson, and we'd sit by this squalid creek every day at lunch and imagine ourselves as philosophers—we called ourselves the new Transcendentalists."



☞ "If you want inner peace find it in solitude, not speed, and if you would find yourself, look to the land from which you came and to which you go." This quotation has repeatedly been ascribed to Thoreau, particularly on the Web, but is actually by former U.S. Congressman Stewart Udall.

☞ John Buell's *Closing the Book on Homework* (Temple UP, 2004) ends with these paragraphs:

My hope is that education might nurture democratic citizenship. The democratic citizen must cooperate with others in crafting the common standards and social supports on which all civilized life depends. But democracy also entails a commitment to individuality, to resistance even to widely shared norms whose cost in the loss of free space is greater than any social benefits. It entails a willingness to constantly tweak and explore this balance.

Thoreau was such a citizen, and his experience is instructive. We owe Thoreau's great classics not only to the hours he devoted to acquiring a classical education but also to his willingness to spend—indeed to demand—time and space for totally unstructured wanderings through and contemplation of the minutiae of nature. It may not be accidental that a citizen who had experienced the constantly renegotiated moments of freedom in his own life was willing to engage in civil disobedience, the ultimate in democratic political practice, to secure these values for others.

☞ A recent re-run of an episode from the old television show *The Waltons* titled "The House," which originally aired 19 February 1976, has the character John-Boy quoting from "Civil Disobedience": "If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself."

☞ The e-zine *Concord Magazine* (<http://www.concordma.com>) is back after a six-month sabbatical and in the current (Spring 2004) issue features, among other pieces, "George Bradford Bartlett" by Leslie Perrin Wilson ("This 19th century unofficial host of Concord, young people's author, and theatrical producer is little-known today"), "How Did Concord Get its Name?" by Paul Drexler ("We know how Concord made its name in our country's history, but where does the name itself come from?"), "Hawthorne's 'Vegetable Progeny' at the Old Manse" by Laurie Butters ("Given as a wedding present and planted by Henry Thoreau, this vegetable garden became a great preoccupation"), "Thoreau is Still at Walden" by Corinne H. Smith (on Richard Smith's "living history" portrayals of Thoreau), and "Walden Pond: A History" by Richard Smith (appreciative review of W. Barksdale Maynard's recent book).

☞ *Les Forêts du Maine*, François Specq's French translation of *The Maine Woods*, was published very recently and will be fully cited in the next Bulletin. Specq informs us, "Besides a fully annotated translation of the entire text of *The Maine Woods*, this volume features a long commentary on this work of Thoreau's and his contribution to the nature conservation movement, entitled 'Habiter la frontière: L'humanisme sauvage d'Henry D. Thoreau' ["Living a Border Life: Henry D. Thoreau's Wild Humanism"] (pp. 365-520)."

☞ From Christopher Orlet's "The Gymnasiums of the Mind," an article about the connection between philosophy and walking, in the January/February 2004 issue of the British magazine *Philosophy Now*: "In his brief life Henry David Thoreau walked an

estimated 250,000 miles, or ten times the circumference of the earth. 'I think that I cannot preserve my health and spirits,' wrote Thoreau, 'unless I spend four hours a day at least—and it is commonly more than that—sauntering through the woods and over the hills and fields absolutely free from worldly engagements.' Thoreau's landlord and mentor Ralph Waldo Emerson characterized walking as 'gymnastics for the mind.' " Chris Dodge wondered what Orlet's source for "250,000 miles" might have been and did some math. "Thoreau lived two months and six days short of 45 years," Dodge writes. "Without accounting for leap years, I figure he lived close to 365 days x 45, minus 67 —16,358 days give or take a few—probably about 11 more than that. Let's say 16,369 days. To have walked 250,000 miles would mean that he averaged over 15¼ miles of walking a day from the time he left the womb." Orlet again: " 'When we walk, we naturally go to the field and the woods,' said Thoreau. 'What would become of us, if we only walked in a garden or a mall?' I supposed I am what becomes of us, Henry."

☞ Thoreau-in-Vermont is "a co-ed, inter-racial summer camp" that is "located on a lovely wooded, 380 acre site, on the shore of a 64 acre lake in Thetford Center, Vermont" (<http://www.campthoreau-in-vermont.org>).

☞ Jonah Raskin's *American Scream: Allen Ginsberg's "Howl" and the Making of the Beat Generation* (U California P, 2004) states that Ginsberg saw "Kerouac as the successor to Melville and himself as the successor to Whitman. Later he would see Gary Snyder as the successor to Henry David Thoreau."

## 2004 Annual Gathering

WALDEN: OF ITS TIME, FOR OUR TIME,  
A SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION  
8-11 JULY 2004  
Concord, Massachusetts

Program details, registration materials, and so on accompanied this Bulletin.

The Annual Gathering Committee needs volunteers to assist with the Gathering. They'll need help with registration, setting up meeting rooms, hospitality, and a variety of other tasks. If you can volunteer some time, please contact Jayne Gordon at (978) 369-5319 or email [jayne.gordon@thoreausociety.org](mailto:jayne.gordon@thoreausociety.org).

## Additions to the Thoreau Bibliography

Robert N. Hudspeth

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**Please submit items for the Summer  
Bulletin to your editor before  
15 July 2004**

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We are indebted to the following individuals for information sent in for the Bulletin: Brian Bartlett, Ron Bosco, Clarence Burley, Jim Dawson, Debra Kang Dean, Chris Dodge, Steve Ells, Tim French, Jayne Gordon, Len Gougeon, Karen Kashian, John Kiser, W. Barksdale Maynard, Austin Meredith, Glenn H. Mott, Wesley T. Mott, Stefano Paolucci, Edward J. Renahan, Jr., Mary



Schneider, Richard Schneider, Ed Schofield, Mark Sullivan, Rick L. Thompson, John A. Wickham, Richard Winslow III, and Beth Witherell. Please keep your editor informed of items not yet added and new items as they appear.

## Announcements

### "EARTH'S EYE": SESQUICENTENNIAL ONLINE EXHIBITION

With the able assistance of Webmaster Bob Hall, Concord Free Public Library Special Collections Curator Leslie Wilson has made available fifty images of or relating to Walden Pond. The exhibition features an introductory essay by W. Barksdale Maynard, author of *Walden Pond: A History* and a frequent contributor of articles to this Bulletin, as well as three images each by William Wheeler Anderson and his mother, the late Esther Howe Wheeler Anderson. The remaining forty-four images feature items in Special Collections, almost all of which are either extremely rare or unique. Your editor was delighted, for instance, by item 33, "*Plan of Walden Pond State Reservation, 1922 Dec.*," which consists of six sections, each of which can be clicked to view an enlargement. A canted rectangle in the left-center of the upper-right section shows the area that was Thoreau's bean-field (summer 1845). This exhibition is a must-see for Thoreauvians.

### PLEASE NOTE

Beginning with *Thoreau Society Bulletin* 250 (Winter 2005) each "Announcements" and "Calendar of Events" listing will contain the usual headline but only a one-sentence description. More detailed, comprehensive, and timely descriptions of announcements and events are now and will continue to be available on the Thoreau Society Web site at <http://www.thoreausociety.org>, and the Society is considering an email distribution list for members who may wish to receive email notifications of Society-related announcements and events.

## Calendar of Events

**MAY 15** 10:30 A.M.—2:30 P.M.

**THE SEASONS OF WALDEN: "PLANTS AND ANIMALS OF WALDEN"**  
Bring a backpack with lunch and water, and join renowned naturalist and Concord resident Peter Alden for a hike from Walden Pond to Fairhaven Bay. Meet at the Tsongas Gallery adjoining the Shop at Walden Pond. Co-sponsored by the Friends of Walden Pond (an activity of the Thoreau Society), the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, and Walden Pond State Reservation. For grades 3 and above. Fee \$5 (also \$5 parking fee for each vehicle). Pre-register at (978) 369-5310.

### MAY 21—SEPTEMBER 19

#### VISITING THOREAU'S WALDEN

The Concord Museum's new exhibit explores the generations of other visitors for whom Walden Pond has also been home, workplace, playground, and sacred ground. The exhibit draws on the Museum's unparalleled collection of Thoreau artifacts, including the desk on which Thoreau wrote the first draft of *Walden*, together with rarely seen images and incomparable works by N. C. Wyeth and Edward Steichen, to gain a new perspective on the variety of these Walden visitors—ice-cutters and wood-choppers, poets and philosophers, children, picnickers, environmentalists, artists, ordinary citizens from around the world, and Thoreau himself. The Thoreau Society co-sponsors the Summer Lecture Series associated with the exhibit.

### MAY 22

3 P.M.

#### THE THOREAU SOCIETY IN MINNEAPOLIS

Jayne Gordon will speak at 3 p.m. on "Shots Heard 'Round the World," and Ronald A. Bosco will speak at 4 p.m. on "From Walden to the West: Thoreau's Spiritual and Savage Journeys," both engagements to take place at Campus Club, Coffman Memorial Union, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis East Bank Campus. Co-sponsored by the Minneapolis Athenaeum and the University of Minnesota Department of English. For information contact either Terry Dinovo of the Minneapolis Athenaeum at (612) 209-3757 or Thoreau Society member Dale Schwie at (612) 866-2644.

### MAY 23

2–4 P.M.

#### THE THOREAU SOCIETY IN MINNEAPOLIS

Ronald A. Bosco and Jayne Gordon will lead a discussion on "*Walden at 150*" at Marshall Field's Performance Hall, The Open Book, 1011 Washington Ave. South. Co-sponsored by the Minnesota Independent Scholars' Forum, the Minneapolis Atheneum, and Milkweed Editions. Call (612) 215-2650.

### MAY 27

7:30 P.M.

#### THOREAU COMMUNITY LECTURE SERIES: WALDEN AT 150

Kent Curtis, Director of Education, and Jeffrey Cramer, Curator of Collections, Walden Woods Project, will speak on "*Walden in Context*" at the Concord Museum. Sponsored by the Concord Museum, the Thoreau Society, and the Walden Woods Project. Free and open to the public. Donations accepted. A reception follows the presentation.

### JUNE 9

7 P.M.

#### VISITING THOREAU'S WALDEN (LECTURE 1 OF 3)

Eminent historian and author of *The Mystic Chords of Memory* and the newly-published *A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture*, Michael Kammen, speaks at the Concord Museum on "Henry David Thoreau and the Four Seasons in American Culture." Fee \$7.50 (\$5 for Thoreau Society members), reservations requested: (978) 369-9763. A reception follows the lecture.

### JUNE 15

7 P.M.

#### VISITING THOREAU'S WALDEN (LECTURE 2 OF 3)

Clare Walker Leslie, co-author of *Keeping a Nature Journal*, winner of the 2003 John Burroughs Award, speaks at the Concord Museum on "Keeping a Nature Journal" and will lead audience

members through simple techniques for starting and maintaining a nature journal. Fee \$7.50 (\$5 for Thoreau Society members), reservations requested: (978) 369-9763. A reception follows the lecture.

**JUNE 19**

9 A.M.—12 NOON

**THE SEASONS OF WALDEN: "ON THIS SPOT"**

Through stories and hands-on activities, Christen Lekorenos will help participants investigate what has changed and what has not at Thoreau's Cove, Ice Fort Cove, and other locations around Walden Pond. Meet at the Tsongas Gallery adjoining the Shop at Walden Pond. Co-sponsored by the Friends of Walden Pond (an activity of the Thoreau Society), the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, and Walden Pond State Reservation. For grades 3 and above. Fee \$5 (also \$5 parking fee for each vehicle). Pre-register at (978) 369-5310.

**JUNE 22**

7 P.M.

**VISITING THOREAU'S WALDEN (LECTURE 3 OF 3)**

Joy Ackerman of Antioch New England Graduate School lectures at the Concord Museum on "The Place of Pilgrimage: Alternative Geographies of Walden." Fee \$7.50 (\$5 for Thoreau Society members), reservations requested: (978) 369-9763. A reception follows the lecture.

**JUNE 25-26****HAWTHORNE AT 200: A COMMEMORATIVE SYMPOSIUM**

"Living Legacy: A Bicentennial Celebration of the Life and Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne" will be sponsored by Minute Man National Historical Park and Partners and held at Trinitarian Congregational Church, Concord, Mass. For registration information visit <http://www.nps.gov/mima/special.html>.

**JULY 8**

6 A.M.

**DAWN-TO-DUSK READING OF WALDEN AT WALDEN POND**

Reading of *Walden* by members and guests of the Thoreau Society.

**JULY 8-11****THOREAU SOCIETY ANNUAL GATHERING**

Theme: "*Walden*: Of Its Time, For Our Time." Concord, Mass. See program insert mailed with this Bulletin.

**JULY 12**

10 A.M.—4 P.M.

**WALDEN AT TRAIL WOOD**

Celebration of Thoreau's 187<sup>th</sup> birthday and *Walden*'s 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary at the Edwin Way Teale Memorial Sanctuary at Trail Wood, 93 Kenyon Road, Hampton, Connecticut. There will be scheduled talks on Thoreau and Teale by Tom Potter, Bob Breau, and other Thoreau Society members, tours of the writing cabin and house study, and walks throughout Trail Wood lead by local naturalists. Register through Connecticut Audubon Center: (860) 928-4948 or [sheminway@ctaclubon.org](mailto:sheminway@ctaclubon.org).

**DECEMBER 27-30****MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION**

Each December the Thoreau Society sponsors two sessions at the Modern Language Association convention. Both Society sessions this year will address the topic "The Emerson's Parlor and Mrs. Thoreau's Dinner Table: Transcendental Conversations." The first session, chaired by Sandy Petrunionis of Penn State Altoona, will

feature Peter Gibian of McGill University on "The Parlor and Its Discontents: Transcendentalist Talk Circles and a Thoreau-Whitman Debate about Spoken Dialogue"; Sarah Wider of Colgate University on "Henry's Last Paradox: Thoreau at Home with the Emersons"; and Bradley P. Dean of West Peterborough, N.H., on "Emerson, Thoreau, and the Reverend Daniel Foster." The second session, chaired by Phyllis Cole of Pennsylvania State, Delaware County, will feature Lance Newman of California State University, San Marcos, on "Orestes Brownson's *New Views*"; Robert A. Gross of the University of Connecticut on "Faith in the Boardinghouse: New Views of Thoreau Family Religion"; Bruce Ronda of Colorado State University on "Myths of Memory: Elizabeth Peabody Visits, and Recollects, the Emersons"; and Price McMurray of Texas Wesleyan University on "'An Egyptian Skull at Our Banquet': Hawthorne, Emerson, and the Idealist Convivium."

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Established in 1941, the **Thoreau Society, Inc.**, is an international nonprofit organization with a mission to honor Henry David Thoreau by stimulating interest in and fostering education about his life, works, and philosophy and his place in his world and ours: by coordinating research on his life and writings; by acting as a repository for Thoreauviana and material relevant to Henry David Thoreau; and by advocating for the preservation of Thoreau Country. Membership in the Society includes subscriptions to its two publications, the *Thoreau Society Bulletin* (published quarterly) and *The Concord Saunterer* (published annually). Society members receive a ten-percent discount on all merchandise purchased from the Thoreau Society Shop at Walden Pond and advance notice about Society programs, including the Annual Gathering.

**Membership:** Thoreau Society, Penn State Altoona, 129 Community Arts Center, Altoona, PA, 16601, U.S.A.; voice-mail: (978) 369-5359; e-mail: [membership@thoreausociety.org](mailto:membership@thoreausociety.org).

**Merchandise:** (including books and mail-order items): Thoreau Society Shop at Walden Pond, 915 Walden Street, Concord, MA 01742-4511, U.S.A.; tel: (978) 287-5477; fax: (978) 287-5620; e-mail: [info@shopatwaldenpond.org](mailto:info@shopatwaldenpond.org); Website: [www.shopatwaldenpond.org](http://www.shopatwaldenpond.org).

**Concord Saunterer:** Richard Schneider, Department of English and Modern Languages, Wartburg College, 222 Ninth Street NW, Waverly, IA 50677, U.S.A.; tel: (319) 352-8435; e-mail: [schneider@wartburg.edu](mailto:schneider@wartburg.edu).

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